

"THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY."

THE OFFICIAL ACTS

OF

BOTH PARTIES

IN RELATION TO THIS QUESTION.

It is an oft repeated assertion by the Fremont press at the north, that the democratic party are in favor of the extension of slavery; and this assertion has been too frequently repeated, in terms that could not be misunderstood, from the pulpit—too often for the credit of those ministers of the gospel, whose sacred calling should forbid an assertion not warranted by truth. It is not intended here to charge ministers of the gospel with a deliberate design to pervert the facts; but we do say that they cannot be justified in delivering political sermons, and they certainly are not justified in preaching such sermons, without at least informing themselves upon the questions which they attempt to discuss. It is unquestionably true that the cause of religion suffers when the minister turns from his calling, and involves himself in party strife; and more especially is this the case when he misrepresents the party which he opposes, even through ignorance of their position, and asserts before his congregation, or in private conversation, that this party is in favor of the extension of slavery, when the record proves that such is not the fact. From a partisan press, devoted to the success of a party which appeals to the passions rather than to the reason of men—a party whose leaders and presses devote much time in making irritating remarks against an entire section of our common country, and is striving for success upon a purely sectional issue—from such a press, in its heated zeal, we may not expect entire fairness, but from the pulpit, when its ministers engage in political questions, we have a right to demand that they shall more fully inform themselves, and more truly represent the great national party of the country than they have in repeated instances during the present campaign, when advising their hearers to support "the party of freedom" against "the party which favors slavery extension"—using the catch words of the Fremont presses and orators, which convey an untruthful idea, in order to designate the party which they instruct their hearers to support.

The Democratic party does *not* favor the extension of slavery; but resting its organization upon the principles of our government, they do not attempt to coerce the people of any locality of this republic into any special measure relating to slavery. Under our government the people of fifteen States tolerate slavery; in sixteen States they forbid its existence among themselves. The general government has no power to legislate upon the subject of slavery in their respective localities. The Democratic party has embodied the same principles in its platform; and on these principles the entire party, with its complete organizations in all of the thirty-one States of the Union, now stands, appealing to the people whose rights this great national party defends to decide upon the soundness of its principles and the justness of its cause. A quotation from some journal of extreme views does not fix the principles of the Democratic party. But its national platform, adopted by every State of the Union, does establish those principles; and to this we can appeal for the true sentiments of the party. This platform, unanimously adopted by the Democratic National Convention last June, lays down the principles of the Democratic party upon the subject of slavery as follows:

PRINCIPLES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

Resolved, That we reiterate, with renewed energy of purpose, the well-considered declarations of former Conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the States—

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that all such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friends of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise Measures, settled by the Congress of 1850; "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor" included, which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot with fidelity thereto be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1793, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature, in 1790; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the North and South to the Constitution and the Union:—

1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue; and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories; and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

2. That this was the basis of the Compromises of 1850, confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national conventions; ratified by the people in the election of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of this democratic principle to the organization of Territories, and to the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect, the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact; the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed, with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Here are the principles of the Democratic party upon the subject of domestic slavery in the States and Territories. Is there a word in this declaration of principles favoring "the extension of slavery?" Not one. It repudiates sectional parties and platforms, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories; whose avowed purposes must end in civil war and disunion. The position of the Democratic party is embraced in the words following, viz:

It being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom; BUT TO LEAVE THE PEOPLE THEREOF PERFECTLY FREE TO FORM AND REGULATE THEIR DOMESTIC INSTITUTIONS IN THEIR OWN WAY, subject only to the Constitution of the United States.

These are the principles of the Democratic party. They do not "extend slavery." They do not uphold it. They do not sanction it. But under our form of government, the people of Kansas and Nebraska must make their own Constitutions, as the people of each of the existing States of the Union have done before them. In this way, the slavery question will be settled among them as it has been with us; and in their hands the Democratic party leave it, refusing to interfere with a local question among a people who are not only competent but have the right to manage their own affairs. Will the reader reflect upon this position of the Democratic party with candor, and satisfy himself whether it does not embrace a just principle, and one that must be adopted when the Constitutions of Kansas and Nebraska shall be formed?

Having laid before the reader the true principles of the democratic party on the slavery question—principles which are in accordance with the well-established doctrines of our government and which declare that the people of a Territory are as capable of managing this question for themselves as are the people of the States for themselves—we will proceed to give, from official records, the

PRINCIPLES OF THE FREMONT PARTY ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

In publishing the official record of the Fremont party, it may be proper to say, that their professions do not coincide with their acts in all cases, nor indeed upon the most vital part of the main issue which they choose to present. This arises, without doubt, from the fact that they have no well-defined views nor fixed principles, upon this subject of slavery, about which they talk and write so much. We shall show that, while they profess to be most earnestly opposed to the extension of slavery, they have in a body, in the House of Representatives, at Washington, voted for a law which extended slavery over a large tract of territory now free; and that, while professing hostility to the fugitive slave law, they, in a special manner, voted to extend its provisions, without qualification, over Kansas; and that, while using the coarsest epithets against certain laws of the Kansas legislature, they passed an act acknowledging and confirming them. The official record will show these facts. We cannot account for such surprising inconsistencies, except upon the ground that the party to whom they attach has no fixed and well defined principles; and that they are contending for success in this election upon professions which they find to be wholly impracticable when brought to the test of a legislative act—professions used for electioneering purposes, without regard to their soundness, or that alienation of friendship between different sections of the country, which such unprincipled conduct is well calculated to produce.

Now we will bring forward the record of the votes and the proposed law of the Fremont party.

On the 29th of July, 1856, the House of Representatives passed "an act to re-organize the territory of Kansas, and for other purposes," commonly known as "Dunn's bill." It was voted for by every Republican or Fremont member, except Mr. Leiter of Ohio. The first section provides:

"That all that part of the territory of the United States which lies between the parallels of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes and forty degrees of north latitude, and which is east of the eastern boundary of the Territory of Utah, to the southeast corner thereof, and east of a line thence due south to the said parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and is bounded on the east by the western boundary of the State of Missouri shall constitute one Territory, and shall be and hereby is, constituted and organized into a temporary government by the name of the Territory of Kansas."

This includes about fifteen thousand square miles of territory within the limits of New Mexico, now free territory. Over this territory the bill proposed to *extend slavery* till the year 1858—a period without doubt beyond the time when this territory will be admitted as a State; and it is proposed also to establish hereditary slavery, without providing that children born after the passage of this act, and prior to 1858, shall be slaves for life, and also their posterity after them. This provision is in the 24th section of the bill, and is as follows:

"Provided, however, That any person lawfully held to service in either of said Territories shall not be discharged from such service by reason of such repeal and revival of said eighth section, if such person shall be permanently removed from such Territory or Territories prior to the first day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-eight; AND ANY CHILD OR CHILDREN BORN IN EITHER OF SAID TERRITORIES OF ANY FEMALE LAWFULLY HELD TO SERVICE, IN LIKE MANNER REMOVED WITHOUT SAID TERRITORIES BEFORE THE EXPIRATION OF THAT DATE, SHALL NOT BE, BY REASON OF ANYTHING IN THIS ACT, EMANCIPATED FROM ANY SERVICE IT MIGHT HAVE OWED HAD THIS ACT NEVER BEEN PASSED."

And this same section most unequivocally endorses and re-affirms the fugitive slave bill, in the following words:

"And provided further, That any person lawfully held to service in any other State or Territory of the United States, and escaping into either the territory of Kansas or Nebraska, may be reclaimed and removed to the person or place where such service is due under any law of the United States which shall be in force upon the subject."

This act first repeals the law which leaves the control of the slavery question in the hands of the people themselves, and then "*extends slavery*" over Kansas and a part of New Mexico, till the year 1858, and this is unquestionably as long as it could be extended over those territories by an act of Congress, as the people will probably organize State governments before the expiration of that time, when they will most certainly "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way."

Here is a positive act for the "extension of slavery" over Kansas and a part of New Mexico—an act voted for and passed by the Republicans of the lower house of Congress, and which was opposed and voted against by the Democratic members in a body. This act not only established slavery in these territories, and also in New Mexico, where it *has never been sanctioned*, but made children born therein of slave parents and their posterity, slaves for life. Here is an act which weighs down the professions of the Fremont party. The yeas and nays were ordered on this bill in the House, and it was passed, yeas 88, nays 74, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Albright, Allison, Ball, Barbour, Benson, Bishop, Bliss, Bradshaw, Brenton, Buffington, James H. Campbell, Lewis D. Campbell, Chaffee, Clawson, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cumback, Damrell, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Dunn, Durfee, Edie, Edwards, Emrie, Flagler, Giddings, Gilbert, Granger, Grow, Robert B. Hall, Harlan, Harrison, Haven, Holloway, Thomas R. Horton, Valentine B. Horton, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Knapp, Knight, Knowlton, Knox, Kunkel, Matteson, McCarty, Killian Miller, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Nichols, Norton, Andrew Oliver, Parker, Pelton, Perry, Pettit, Pringle, Poylance, Ritchie, Sabin, Sage, Sapp, Sherman, Simmons, Spinner, Stanton, Stranahan, Tappan, Thurston, Todd, Trafton, Wade, Wakeman, Walbridge, Waldron, Cadwallader C. Washburne, Elihu B. Washburne, Israel Washburne, Watson, Welch, Wells, Wood, Woodruff, and Woodworth—88.

Nays—Messrs. Aiken, Barksdale, Bell, Bowie, Branch, Broom, Burnett, John P. Campbell, Canille, Caruthers, Caskie, Howell Cobb, Williamson R. W. Cobb, Cox, Craige, Crawford, Cullen, Davidson, Henry Winter Davis, Denver, Dowdell, Edmundson, English, Faulkner, Foster, Goode, Greenwood, J. Morrison Harris, Sampson W. Harris, Thomas L. Harris, Houston, Jewett, George W. Jones, J. Glancy Jones, Kennett, Kidwell, Lake, Leiter, Lumpkin, Humphrey Marshall, Samuel S. Marshall, Maxwell, Smith Miller, Millson, Packer, Peck, Phelps, Powell, Puryear, Quitman, Reade, Ready, Ricard, Rivers, Ruffin, Savage, Shorter, Samuel A. Smith, William Smith, Sneed, Stevens, Stewart, Swope, Taylor, Trippe, Underwood, Valk, Walker, Warner, Watkins, Winslow, Daniel B. Wright, John V. Wright, and Zollcoffer—14.

Thus it will be seen, that while the entire republican party (with one solitary exception) voted for this odious measure, every democrat in the House voted against it. In the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Territories, where its provisions were carefully examined and thoroughly exposed in a report which was concurred in by five of the six members of the committee. Mr. Collamer made a minority report, in which he attempts to palliate some of the monstrous provisions of the bill, but does not dispute the correctness of any one fact stated in the report of the committee. After these two reports had been read to the Senate, and the subject had become thoroughly understood, the bill was laid on the table, with the distinct understanding that it should be deemed a test vote, on the rejection of the bill. The vote was as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Adams, Allen, Bell, of Tennessee, Benjamin, Biggs, Bigler, Brigt, Brodhead, Brown, Butler, Cass, Clay, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Geyer, Honston, Hunter, Iverson, Jones, of Tennessee, Mallory, Mason, Pratt, Pugh, Reid, Sebastian, Silldell, Stuart, Thompson, of Kentucky, Thomson, of New Jersey, Toombs, Toucey, Weller, Wright, Yulee—35.

Nays—Messrs. Bell, of New Hampshire, Collamer, Fessenden, Fish, Foot, Foster, Hale, Harlan, Seward, Trumbull, Wade, Wilson—12.

Thus, it appears, that every republican (all the supporters of Fremont) in the Senate voted against the rejection of this bill, or, in other words, every one of them declared by his vote that he was in favor of the passage of the bill, while every democrat voted to kill the bill. But one friend of Fremont (Mr. Seward) expressed his dissent to any part of the bill; all the rest leaving it to be inferred that they were ready to vote for the bill as it stood.

We have already remarked that this bill not only "extended slavery," but that it recognized the laws of Kansas, which the Republicans object to in the severest terms before the people, (and a portion of which the Democratic party have never approved of.) Here is the proof that the Republicans recognized those laws. The following sections were voted for and passed by the same gentlemen named in the "yeas" just quoted, the gentleman named in the "nays" voting against them:

In opposing this law the Senate's committee remarked:

Sec. 15. And be it further enacted, That all suits, process, and proceedings, civil and criminal, at law and in chancery, and all indictments and informations which shall be pending and undetermined in the courts of the Territory of Kansas or of New Mexico, when this act shall take effect; shall remain in said courts where pending, to be heard, tried, prosecuted, and determined in such courts as though this act had not been passed: *Provided, nevertheless,* That all criminal prosecutions now pending in any of the courts of the Territory of Kansas, imputing to any person or persons the crime of treason against the United States, and all criminal prosecutions, by information or indictment, against any person or persons for any alleged violation or disregard whatever of what are usually known as the laws of the legislature of Kansas, shall be forthwith dismissed by the courts where such prosecutions may be pending, and every person who may be restrained of his liberty by reason of any of said prosecutions shall be released therefrom without delay. Nor shall there hereafter be instituted any criminal prosecution in any of the courts of the United States, or of said Territory, against any person or persons, for any such charge of treason in the said Territory prior to the passage of this act, or any violation or disregard of said legislative enactments at any time.

Sec. 16. And be it further enacted, That all justices of the peace, constables, sheriffs, and all other judicial and ministerial officers, who shall be in office within the limits of said Territory when this act shall take effect, shall be, and they are hereby, authorized and required to continue to exercise and perform the duties of their respective offices as officers of the Territory of Kansas temporarily, and until they or others shall be duly appointed and qualified to fill their places in the manner herein directed, or until their offices shall be abolished.

"It will be observed that these two sections recognize the validity and binding force of the entire code of laws enacted at the Shawnee Mission by the legislature of Kansas Territory, and provide for the faithful execution of all those enactments except the criminal code. All justices of the peace, constables, sheriffs, and all other judicial and ministerial officers now in office, are required to continue to exercise and perform the duties of their respective offices. All these officers, with the exception of the governor, three judges, secretary, and marshal, and district attorney, were elected or appointed under the laws enacted by the legislature of Kansas, while their powers, functions, and duties are all prescribed by those laws, and none others. These officers are all required to continue to perform the duties of their respective offices, by observing and enforcing all the laws enacted at the Shawnee Mission, except the criminal code. 'All suits, process, and proceedings, civil and criminal, at law and in chancery, and all indictments and informations which shall be pending and undetermined in the courts of the Territory of Kansas or New Mexico when this act shall take effect shall remain in said courts where pending, to be heard, tried, prosecuted, and determined in such courts as though this act had not been passed.' The election laws, and the laws concerning slaves and slavery, and all laws protecting the rights of persons and property, and affecting all the relations of life, are recognized as valid, and required to be enforced, EXCEPTING CRIMINAL PROSECUTIONS, BY INFORMATION OR INDICTMENT, for violating or disregarding the laws of the legislature of Kansas. All such prosecutions are required to be forthwith dismissed, and the prisoners set at liberty, and no new prosecutions are to be commenced for 'any violation or disregard of said legislative enactments at any time.' Such is the legislation provided for in these two sections of the bill. They recognize the validity of the laws enacted at Shawnee Mission, and provide for the enforcement of all of them, except in cases of criminal prosecution."

Here are official records which can never be effaced. The Democratic party declared in their platform that the people of the Territories should be perfectly free to form and

regulate their own domestic institutions. In Congress the Democratic members have sustained this principle by their votes. When the Fremont members presented them with a bill actually *extending slavery* into the Territories, the Democrats unitedly voted against it; the Fremont members, with only one exception, voting for it. The Fremont men, in their platform, declare:

"That it is both the right and the imperative duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery."

This is their profession before the people, that Congress, not the people of the Territory, shall prohibit polygamy and slavery. Of the sin of polygamy, however, claiming the right and the duty to control it, they say but little, and have never introduced a proposition in either House, to prohibit it. It does not equal "bleeding Kansas," kept bleeding by the Fremont party, who have been busy to enlist men and furnish Sharpe's rifles for that object, and it is merely placed in the platform and there permitted to sleep, by the very men who declare that it is their "imperative duty" to prohibit it. And they declare, too, that it is their "imperative duty" to take the settlement of the slavery question from the hands of the people of Kansas, and prohibit the existence of slavery among them; but their recorded votes upon the journals of Congress show that they sustained a *proposed law* which actually extended slavery over that Territory and a part of another, for a period which, in all human probability, will reach beyond the existence of any territorial government over those localities.

Will the reader compare the conduct of the Democratic party with that of the Fremont party?

The Democrats lay down their principles, and by their *official acts* sustain those principles.

The Democratic party adopt a principle—make the presidential issue upon it—and then, by its official act, repudiates and utterly overthrows that principle.

The Fremont party charge the Democrats with a desire to extend slavery.

The professions, the platform, and the official votes of the Democratic party, sweep away that charge as a base fabrication. The Democrats vote against an act extending slavery.

The Fremont party go before the people with pledges and professions of hostility to slavery and slave extension—even declaring it to be their imperative duty to take the subject out of the hands of the people by an act of Congress—and then record their votes to extend slavery and to sustain the Fugitive Slave act.

The Fremonters complain bitterly of certain objectionable laws in Kansas, and charge the Democrats with being responsible for them.

The democrats, on the part of the Senate, repealed those laws. (See Senate bill authorizing the people of Kansas to form a State government.)

The Fremont party, on the part of the House, defeated that repeal, and rejected the entire bill.

The Senate's committee of conference (democrats) proposed to repeal all of the objectionable laws of Kansas, without qualification, or any provision whatever attached to the repealing act.

The committee on the part of the House (Fremont men) rejected this proposition, and declared that the House would not consent to it.

Why? Because "bleeding Kansas," and the "bad laws of Kansas," constituted all of their political stock in trade; and the Fremont party desired that those laws should remain, whilst they were sending armed men into the Territory, under Lane, to keep the civil war alive.

The reader should remember that the Fremont charge, that the democratic party is in favor of extending slavery, *never has been and never can be sustained by proof*. But that the fact that the Fremont party in Congress has voted to extend slavery is proved by the official record.

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsify the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their delegates assembled in a general convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and ap-

pealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and re-assert before the American people the declarations of principles avowed by them when, on former occasions in general convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrages.

1. That the federal government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution; and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other State purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete an ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

7. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties their soundness, safety, and utility in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty, and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books.

And WHEREAS, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in national conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relation thereto, and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called—

Resolved, That the foundation of this union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government built upon, entire freedom in matters of religious concernment, and no respect of person in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birth-place; and hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholic and foreign born, is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose, the well considered declarations of former conventions upon the sectional issue of domestic slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the States.

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of

slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto; are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures, settled by the Congress of 1850; "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor," included; which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by, and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature, in 1799; that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, north and south, to the Constitution and the Union—

1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue—and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion—the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the "slavery question" upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY, OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

2. That this was the basis of the compromises of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in national conventions—ratified by the people in the election of 1852—and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of territories and to the admission of new States—with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect—the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing in peace and harmony every future American State that may be constituted or annexed with a republican form of government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, finally, That in the view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship, in our own land,) a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States; and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few, at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the Constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine; their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of the States most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for a free communication between

the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times and the unconquerable energy of our people. That result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with the relations it may suit our policy to establish between our government and the governments of the States within whose dominions it lies. We can, under no circumstances, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That, in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States can not but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the interoceanic isthmus.

5. *Resolved*, That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain a permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil, and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our western valleys, and of the Union at large.